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THE OPPOSITION.—In no country was an opposition ever organized upon such curious principles as in this, at the present moment. There must certainly either be a defect in the chief of the party, or a strange capriciousness in the members of the association. When an administration is to be written down, the course to be pursued is so plain that one would suppose the most ignorant could not mistake it. The remedy of some evil, or the performance of some good, is generally held out as the inducement for the people to change their rulers; and if no opportunity offers for declamation on these points, an ingenious leader would devise some plausible cavil against the line of public conduct pursued by the men in power. At this time it will be acknowledged that there is no crying evil to rectify, nor any considerable benefit within the control of administration which is not already enjoyed by the citizens. The genius of opposition is therefore left to exercise itself in the invention of some colorable pretext for hostility; some cunning sophism to pervert the popular mind to its purpose. It has certainly not been idle: But there has been great buffeting of brains to very little purpose.

The party under Alexander Hamilton could never get beyond the clamour of political prophecy, and the aukward grimaces of impertinent ridicule. The wisdom of that celebrated leader went no further than to alarm the fears of the thoughtful for the future; and his wit could invent nothing for his friends that surpassed the bawdry stories of the ill-fated Callender and the vulgar jokes that were boorishly cracked upon the color of the presidential raiment. The prophets have done all in their power to fulfill their own predictions; and the witlings have most marvellously agitated their muscles at the conceit of their own whimsies: But the sober seriousness of the nation has not been shaken by false augury; nor the members of the administration tittered out of their places by those who could find food for laughter and ribaldry in trivial incidents beneath the dignity of respectful notice.

The character of the opposition was pledged when in the year 1801 its writers foretold the beggary of the treasury and the ruin of the country, by the measures of the present administration; and the pledge was forfeited before Mr. Jefferson's first presidential term had expired. As if the mind of Gallatin had been created to expose the fallacy of their doctrines, the finances of the United States flourished under his auspices in a most extraordinary manner: The debt of the nation diminished rapidly by the yearly application of a specific sum appropriated for its liquidation: And this was effected in the face of the repeal of the direct tax and other curtailments of income. The war department, conducted on a more economical plan than ever, displayed new vigor throughout all its ramifications: A slender military force, by an excellent arrangement, was rendered competent to maintain peace upon a vast frontier, increased by the purchase of Louisiana; and at the same instant that it awed the Spaniards into respect, struck terror to the hearts of

traitors. The navy decreased by the sale of vessels authorised by a law passed in a former administration, under the direction of an able secretary was made efficient for all the purposes to which this nation could reasonably direct one: Our merchantmen were protected in the only particular spot where danger presented itself, the navigation of the Mediterranean: The Tripolitans were chastised and humbled; and Tunis was coerced to the preservation of peace. The department of state, filled by one of the first statesmen of the age, has been conducted with so much ability, that the United States' cabinet has gained an *eclat* in Europe which it had not attained at any former period: With Great Britain, with France, and with Spain, questions of a most critical nature have occurred; in the discussion of which European cunning has been foiled by the superior wisdom of the American secretary. And over all these departments a chief magistrate presides, whose vigilance has never slept; and who has invariably endeavored to shape the administration so as to meet the wishes of his fellow-citizens. It is not in the nature of things that the majority of the people should be ungrateful to such rulers.

An opposition has nevertheless been kept up, on a speculative basis only. We are told, if the treasury has flourished it has been the result of good fortune and arrangements formerly made: If the war department has been well conducted, it has been owing to a system established fifteen years ago: If the navy has gained renown, it was solely by the good conduct of the officers and seamen, independent of the management of the gentleman who directs its movements: And if the secretary of state has ably supported the laws of naitons and the particular interests of his country, he is accused of setting up unlawful pretensions and broaching new-fangled principles.* On these *ex post facto* dogmas, a clamor is raised and continued; and the administration is charged with the most opposite principles and practices in the same breath. It is pictured to the fancy as shrinking from war, yet seeking it; as parsimonious, yet extravagant; as courting popularity and power, yet flying from the helm of state in the day of danger; and as being the creature of French influence, at the instant the president has rejected an influence far more insidious and seducing by voluntarily retiring from office. If an incongruous association of ideas inconsiderately uttered, be a symptom of insanity, shall we not call those political madmen who attempt to guide an opposition by such incoherent opinions? But what name shall be given to men who believe and act upon them!

If Rufus King be the political successor of Hamilton, he has widely mistaken the feelings of the American people. A long residence in the metropolis of Great-Britain may have initiated him into the temper of the English populace; but has entirely

* *The public have yet to learn how extremely inadequate the opposition writers are to the topics which they undertake confidently to discuss.—With respect to our foreign relations, I predict that at some future day their profound stupidity will be effectually exposed. To misrepresent the doctrines of the administration may be deemed good policy for them; but what excuse will they offer for an utter ignorance of the tenets of their own party!*

disqualified him for the leader of a party in a free republic. When we see the spirit of a London mob attempted to be instilled into the minds of enlightened citizens; when open hostility is countenanced against the government in the dread hour of peril; or when an embargo law, the only efficient safeguard for the nation short of actual war, is represented as the offspring of foreign influence; it is not difficult to discern the bias which exists in the mind of the chief who directs the operations of such a party. A man, we are told, cannot serve both God and Mammon. It is the same in politics as in religion: The person who claims the character of a patriot at home, and yet is the warmest friend of his country's enemy; must eventually perish in the estimation of the people. Double-dealing may be tolerated among courtiers; for with them hypocrisy is in fashion: But there is a manliness among the citizens of this country, which detests depravity even when veiled with the most artful caution.

The singular position which the head of the party attempts to maintain renders the active members of it truly ludicrous, although they are in a plight which excites the pity of the nation. Some of the more sagacious have perceived the peculiarity of their situation, and slily drawn themselves aside from the scornful smile which it excited. The troop, in fact, is daily lessening; and shortly we may hail the leader and his aids with the congratulations which the victims of Death pay to their skeleton of a monarch, whose unenviable reign only exists whilst the departing soul flits by him: We may say to the chieftan of opposition, '*Behold! thy partizans are not citizens of this country; their residence here is transient; for they are the subjects of a sovereign in a distant clime.*'

Perhaps the weight of opposition in the community, does not entitle it to such specific remark. I know that history records the names of those contending Jews who distracted Jerusalem by their animosities before Titus besieged it; but who united their forces when the Roman assailed their city. Yet I am not certain that the same attention is due to a party which has scarcely any influence in the nation, but which maintains its rancor with more than Hebrew bitterness at a time like the present. In reality, I have pourtrayed it rather because it is a monster, of potent lungs but contemptible strength, moving by no known laws of political action; than from any apprehension that it will disturb the harmony of the government, or bellow itself into any of the departments of state.

THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.—*(continued from page 12.)*—The institution of a court of enquiry did not arrest the proceedings in the House of Representatives relative to the conduct of Gen. Wilkinson. Mr. Randolph supported his resolution with a spirit and perseverance indicative of the most determined intention of carrying it through that body. A motion was brought forward by Mr. Gardinier to refer it to a select committee, with power to send for persons and papers. This was done under the impression that it was necessary to ascertain whether there were substantial grounds for interference in the case, before the president was called upon. Considerable debate took place at this stage of the business; and the members generally, who are in the habit of speaking, delivered their sentiments pretty much at large. There existed

in the minds of those who were opposed to the resolution and the reference of it to a select committee, serious doubts whether by going into the measure the house would not transcend their constitutional power. They thought that, like any other body of individuals, they might address the president; but that if they did it under the color of any power supposed to be vested in them, they would be incroaching upon the executive department of the government, and setting an example that might lead to the distraction of the public councils: They thought if the general were guilty, he was amenable to a regular civil tribunal; and that a court of inquiry was amply efficient to investigate his conduct and collect the testimony in the case: They contended also that the House had no right to try the general; and therefore they could not with propriety enter upon the subject at all. On the other hand the resolution and the reference of it as moved, was supported by various and plausible arguments. The house of representatives was compared to a grand jury; and under the opinion that they were the grand inquest of the nation, it was contended they had the power to inquire into all offences which affected the general welfare: Implication and analogy were resorted to in order to show that the resolution came within the sphere of congressional jurisdiction: The precedent afforded by a similar proceeding in the case of gen. St. Clair was cited on the occasion: Some gentlemen vindicated the propriety of the proposed investigation on the grounds of expediency: They declared there was a necessity in the present situation of American affairs for the commander in chief of the army of the United States to stand before the public with a character untainted even by suspicion: That unless he did, the American people would have no confidence in him: That the government could not entrust him with the control of the military force of the country in case of war: That an inquiry by a military court must necessarily be circumscribed, and would by no means satisfy the nation.

In the course of the debate a wide range of observation was taken by several of the members. Mr. Gardenier, in particular, made strong allusions to the conduct of general Wilkinson with regard to his seizure of certain suspected individuals at New-Orleans: And Mr Randolph entered into a minute explanation of the celebrated cyphered letter of Burr to Wilkinson, stating that the general had not truly given the sense of it to the government. He avowed his conviction that the commander in chief was not the only corrupted officer in the army; but that an extensive and alarming disaffection prevailed among those who held commissions of no mean grade in the military corps of the United States. Mr. Smilie called upon gentlemen to recollect, that general Wilkinson had been before the grand jury at Richmond, and requested to know of the member from Virginia whether with all the facts before them, that inquisitorial body had not declined finding a bill against the commander? Mr. Randolph in reply, declared that general Wilkinson was exonerated on the grounds of his *legal* innocence, but that no doubt existed with them as to his *moral* guilt. The whole scope of this gentleman's observations went as well to inculpate Wilkinson of a connexion with Burr as to establish his bribery by the Spanish government.

The expressions uttered by Mr.

Clark on the first day that this business was brought forward in the house of representatives, had made a general impression that the information which he said he had attempted to give to the government touching affairs in the western parts of the Union had been given to the present administration solely; and that it related particularly to gen. Wilkinson. This, however, the Orleans member took occasion, in the course of the debate, to rectify. He declared his intelligence to have been of a general nature, going principally to develope the illicit practices of the Spaniards in their attempts to separate the United States.

Mr. Gardenier's motion had been negatived; and a resolution substantially the same introduced by Mr. Rowan from Kentucky, previously to the conclusion of the debate which was interrupted by the adjournment of the house on the 11th inst. The following day amendments were made to it by Messrs. Rowan and Love; and on the 13th Mr. Alston moved to strike out all the resolution after the word "Resolved," except that part which related to the transmission of the evidence to the executive. Mr. Rowan withdrew it, that a decision on the principle might not be evaded by the amendment just proposed; when Mr. Randolph immediately renewed the motion that he had originally introduced—*(see pages 11, 12)*—and which he had withdrawn on Monday to make room for the consideration of that brought forward by Mr. Rowan. A debate of about three hours ensued, when the question was taken by yeas and nays, and the resolution carried 72 to 49.

At this stage of the business, Mr. Eppes offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the president of the United States be requested to lay before the House of Representatives all the information which may at any time from the establishment of the present federal government to the present time, have been forwarded to any department of the government, touching a combination between the agents of any foreign government and citizens of the United States, for dismembering the union, or going to shew that any officer of the United States has at any time corruptly received money from any foreign government or its agents. Distinguishing as far as possible the period at which such information has been forwarded, and by whom."

This motion was seconded by Mr. Randolph, and was carried unanimously, every member present, to the number of one hundred and twenty, voting for it.

Mr. Rowan renewed his motion for the appointment of a special committee, under a new modification; but the house (60 to 46) refused to consider it.

Messrs. Randolph and Eppes were then appointed a committee to wait upon the president with the resolutions adopted and the copies of papers laid before the house relative to the conduct of gen. Wilkinson. On the 15th Mr. Randolph reported to the house that they had performed the service, and had received for answer from the president, that "in relation to the first resolution, (Mr. Randolph's) he would send an answer to the house in writing; and, in relation to the second, (Mr. Eppes') that he would give to the House such information not improper to be disclosed, as comes within the scope of that resolution, and which might be in possession of the executive department."

During the course of the debate which the introduction of Mr. Randolph's resolution excited, it was dwelt upon as a point of no small importance that the documents which he had read in his place, as well as the information in the possession of Mr. Daniel Clark, should be formally delivered to the house. A resolution, calculated to effect that object, was introduced by Mr. Burwell (from Virginia) on the 7th instant, and passed by a large majority. In obedience to it, Mr. Randolph laid certain papers in his possession on the table; and Mr. Clark, on the 8th, deposited in the same place, the following, which he had read to the house on a former day:

Translation of an extract of a letter from the Baron de Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, to Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez, dated New-Orleans, 27th April, 1796.

"Argote's letter cannot in my opinion have foundation, since the Prince of Peace tells me that in consequence of the treaty, it is *now* useless to treat separately with Kentucky."

[N. B. Argote was then Spanish consul in Kentucky.]

This, however, was not all the information which the member from Orleans was expected to furnish; and being called upon, he said that he would be able to prepare a statement by the Monday following. On that day (the 11th) he submitted to the house a written paper containing a representation of facts within his own knowledge and others of which he had been informed. This Mr. Clarke deposed to before judge Cranch, of this district, previously to and on the day of its delivery.

This statement declares that Daniel Clark arrived at New-Orleans from Europe in Dec. 1786; that shortly after his arrival he was employed in the office of the secretary of the government, which office was the depository of all state papers; that Wilkinson visited New-Orleans first in 1787 and was introduced by his (Clark's) uncle to the governor and other officers of the Spanish government; that in 1788 and 1789 reports prevailed of the general's having entered into some arrangements with the Spaniards for the separation of the western country from the U. States; and that about that time he saw a letter from Wilkinson giving an account of col. Connolly's mission to him from the British government in Canada, and of proposals made to him on the part of that government, and mentioning his determination of adhering to his connections with the Spaniards;—the deponent then goes on to state his having seen some of the plans proposed by the general for the severance of the western country from the U. States; that Spain was to furnish arms and money, and the western people were to be seduced by the free trade of the Mississippi, &c. that about the same time he saw a list of names of the western citizens in the general's hand writing, who were recommended for pensions, and that he distinctly understood Wilkinson and others were actually Spanish pensioners; that in 1793 or 1794, he came first to the knowledge of money paid to Wilkinson and his agents, and specifies the payment of a sum of money to a certain La Cassagne, as one of the association with gen. Wilkinson in the project of separation; that in the latter year (1794) the officers of the Spanish government at New-Orleans delivered to a man named Owens, the sum of six thousand dollars, to be delivered to gen. Wilkinson, on account of his own pension and that of others; that a

person of the name of Collins, another agent of the general's, received about the same time for Wilkinson 11,000 dollars at New-Orleans; that the object of Power's visits to the western country became known to him in 1796, when Power embarked on board the brig Gayoso at New-Orleans for Philadelphia, in company with judge Sebastian, in which vessel he saw embarked, under a special commission, 4,000 dollars or thereabouts, which he was informed were for Sebastian's own account, as one of those concerned in the scheme of dismemberment of the western country; that Power informed the deponent that he [Power] saw Gen. Wilkinson at Greenville, and was the bearer of a letter to him from the secretary of the government of Louisiana, dated the 7th or 8th of March 1796, advising that a sum of money had been sent to Don Thomas Portell, commandant of New-Madrid, to be delivered to his order, and that this money Power delivered to Nolan, by Wilkinson's directions, that in 1797 Power was entrusted with another mission to Kentucky, and had directions to propose certain plans to effect the separation of the western country from the U. States; that these plans had been proposed and rejected through the means of a Mr. George Nicholas; that Power then proceeded to Detroit to see Wilkinson, and was sent back by him under a guard to New-Madrid, from whence he returned to New-Orleans; that Power's secret instructions were known to him afterwards, and he declares the plan then contemplated entirely failed; that in October 1798 he visited general Wilkinson by his particular request at his camp at Loftus's Heights, and passed three days and nights in the general's tent; that in the course of conversation the general said there was still a balance of 10,000 dollars due him by the Spanish government for which he would gladly take in exchange governor Gayoso's plantation near the Natchez, who might reimburse himself from the treasury at New-Orleans; the general said this sum was due on the old business of the pension, and desired the deponent to propose to governor Gayoso a transfer of his plantation for the money due him from the Spanish treasury; this he (the deponent) declined, and advised him to drop his Spanish connection; the general justified it theretofore from the peculiar situation of Kentucky, the disadvantages that country laboured under at the period he formed his connections with the Spaniards, the doubtful and distracted state of the Union at that time, which he represented as bound together by nothing more than a rope of sand, and solemnly assured him (the deponent) that he had terminated his connections with the Spanish government, and that they never should be renewed. Mr. Clark acquits the general of any improper connection with the Spaniards after the year 1798.

Such is the information which the honorable member from Orleans furnished to the house of representatives, and which was sent to the president.

On the 20th inst. general Wilkinson caused to be published two letters from Mr. Clark, in order that the public might be enabled to "form an estimate of the character or credit of an individual who, so late as fifteen months ago, paid tribute to the talents and integrity, and even sought the patronage of the very man whom he has recently accused of high crimes and misdemeanors of twenty years standing."

The first of these letters is dated

"New-Orleans, 27th Sept. 1806," signed "Daniel Clark," and is in a tone of the most perfect confidence and amity. The writer says, "Neither myself, nor any other of your friends will ever doubt that you will act with the Spaniards with as much prudence as your orders permit, and if hostilities should be the consequence, your superior must be responsible to the nation and not you for the conduct." Speaking of himself, Mr. Clark says, "I know I am entering into a thorny path and shall expect a great deal of trouble. I would thank you for your advice to direct me; and if you would give me a line to some of your friends in congress, disposed to favor or serve Louisiana, you would, perhaps, afterwards find your account in it." He then solicits a correspondence with the general and requests him to "point out in what way you think I may be of service to you."

The second letter is dated "Houman, 2nd October, 1806," and is signed as the first. In this Mr. Clark, alluding to the expected rencontre between the Spaniards and Americans, says to the general, "Were the preparations and means in your power equal to the object, I should have no doubt but you would bring matters to an honorable issue for yourself and your country. I flatter myself, however, if your force is small, you will not expose your reputation unless circumstances should be so favorable as to promise you victory."

The other parts of these letters are such as one man would write to another in the sincerest spirit of friendship: Mr. Clark speaks of his "strong desire" of seeing the general, and of the "pleasure" which it would afford him. There is no allusion, hint, or insinuation against Wilkinson's honor as a soldier or integrity as a man. On the contrary Mr. Clark salutes him with "*Dear* Sir," and "yours, *sincerely*;" and appears to think the general a person whose advice he would thankfully receive and whose directions he would willingly follow.

The court of enquiry which had been appointed agreeably to Gen. Wilkinson's request, met on Monday the 11th inst. Col. Burbeck acted as President. Having nothing before them, however, on that day, it was adjourned until the Wednesday following, when notices were served on Messrs. Daniel Clark, John Rowan, and John Randolph, to attend the court to give testimony on behalf of the U. States in relation to Gen. Wilkinson having been or now being a pensioner to the Spanish government, whilst holding a commission under the government of the United States. To this notice Mr. Clark answered, that under the order of the house of representatives he had already communicated in a deposition the substance of his knowledge and information respecting the subject before the court, that he would have no objection to testify further before any court legally authorised to call citizens before them and competent to the full investigation of so complicate a case, yet he could not consent to appear before a tribunal whose rule of proceedings is purely military and whose powers (as he understood) cannot enable them to call for corroborative proofs upon points which might be rendered questionable on the testimony of a single witness by adverse testimony. Mr. Rowan replied, that he was not personally acquainted with Gen. Wilkinson, nor did he know, of his own knowledge, (although he had heard and believed much,) any thing

which according to the established rules of evidence in civil cases could be heard by that court on the subject of their enquiry; and declares his unwillingness, from his repugnance to military courts generally, to obey the request of the notice. Mr. Randolph answered, that he declined attending because he had no personal knowledge of any circumstances which can be material to the enquiry. On Friday, the 15th, the court met again, when Gen. Wilkinson appeared; and after expressing a wish that the gentlemen notified to attend should be present at the delivery of his remarks, he rose and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN,

From a sense of respect towards the Court and of propriety to my own situation, I have been induced to trespass a few observations on your patience preliminary to the introduction of testimony.

On receiving the first intimation of the anathema pronounced against me on the floor of Congress, by a member of that honorable body, (Mr. John Randolph) as highly distinguished for decorum and moderation as he is for impartiality and candor; I appealed to the proper authority for an investigation into my conduct, by that tribunal which is secured to me by the constitution and the law, and you gentlemen have been ordered to sit in judgment on me.

The occasion was certainly unexpected, yet it was not the less desirable, and although the occurrence so recently after the order at Richmond, may dispose some invidious persons to derogate from the motives of my honorable accuser, the candid and intelligent part of the world, when possessed of all the facts, will do him ample justice; for surely no unmanly vindictive personality can be ascribed to a gentleman of Mr. Randolph's lofty carriage and sublimated honor. Indeed when we survey the course which the accusation has travelled to this court, and examine the manner of its introduction into the House of Delegates, it would imply an unpardonable degree of scepticism to doubt the disinterestedpatriotism which has guided the procedure before that honorable body; much less to complain of a failure in those chaste observances and delicate regards, which are due to the unfortunate, who may become the subjects of public accusation.

Though highly flattered by the manner of my accuser, I must confess that my repugnance to unrighteous and unnecessary innovations, inclined me to prefer the plain, regular, and invariable course to military enquiry, by complaint to the superior—because it secures to the individual a constitutional right, prevents the obtrusion of concerns purely executive, upon the attention of the legislative body, and spares gentlemen of glowing sensibilities, the deep regret inseparable from the analysis of individual character, on ex parte testimony, or no testimony at all.

The victim of suspicion and obloquy for more than thirteen years, I have treated with frigid indifference the paragraphists and pamphleteers, who have pointed their daggers at my reputation, resolved to respond to their calumnies by a redoubled zeal in the discharge of my duties; but I must now thank the *patriot* who has given the outline of my offences, for the opportunity he has furnished me to meet him on the ground of his preference, and there to defy him and his depraved informer, with the host of conspirators who participate their sympathies.

The blights with which men indicted for the ruin of their country, had recently attempted to sully my humble fame, in consequence of my feeble efforts in her defence, served but to excite my pity and contempt; I did indeed believe that the scene of persecution had been closed forever, and began to hope, after a long and not inactive life of military service, I might be permitted to wear out its remnant somewhat cheered, under those privations of the heart which leave us little to wish for, by the retrospect of days without reproach, and the consciousness that whatever might have been my utility, I had lived without dishonor.

But I had forgotten that I had sinned beyond forgiveness, and that my destruction had been sealed in New-Orleans by a band of hardened traitors, who have advanced so far, that they place their safety in their success; and now for the first time I stand, voluntarily, before a military tribunal, to vindicate all for which I have lived and for which I will die. The precious gift of my father—the inestimable inheritance of my children—a soldier's honor—after it has been worried, and torn, and mangled, and degraded, by whom? Let expressive silence mark the avengers of a traitor's cause! And may the angel of mercy blot out the remembrance of my wrongs. For my services shall live and be remembered, when the disciples of detraction, those pestiferous vermin who feed on calumnies, shall have perished and are forgotten.

There are certain terms in our language so offensive to an American ear, that to couple them with a man's name is sufficient to tarnish his character; such are corruption, bribery, pension, poison and poltroon—my enemies aware of this, and knowing that a stain on military honor, like an aspersion on female chastity, sinks deep and is not to be erased—

—"*To make assurance doubly sure*
"*And take a bond of fate*—
"*That* they *might tell pale hearted*
"*fear it lied*,"

Have not been content to arraign me before my country, but in their rage for personal vengeance, they have condemned me unheard, and stigmatized me to the world, on the evidence of made up documents, perjuries and forgeries: I am sensible of the irreparable injury done me, and yet, in this our government of laws, I have found my case remediless; I have therefore suffered in silence, consoling myself with the hope, that the example of my persecutions, might be a future protection to the war worn veteran, and a useful example to those, who too readily credit the tale of detraction.

It is an easy matter to charge virtue itself with corruption, and alas, in these times, we find it almost as easy to sustain the allegation by the oaths of profligate, abandoned men. But, gracious God! Shall the unqualified imputation of corruption, without some word, deed, act, influence or instance, to consummate the offence or to designate the criminal intent or effort, suffice to rob a public officer of his hard earned repute, the price of more than twenty years of zealous, faithful service? Shall bold assertions without facts or circumstances to substantiate them, even when sanctioned by the single oath of a faithless, lying, interested, unprincipled man, prostrate the barriers of honor, which rest on the broad base of approved patriotism and long tried integrity? Genius of my country forbid it! Forbid it Heaven.

I ask only a suspension of the public judgment, pending the enquiry at issue. I call on my countrymen to pause and reflect before they decide. I do not address myself to Burrites or embittered party men, who would hazard the security of the nation, to gratify their malice; from such wretches I expect hatred and I solicit abuse. But I speak to the sweet blooded true hearted American, who is ready to renounce political dogmas for the safety of the state, and to bleed or die in defence of its rights. I request all such to examine the characters and motives of my accusers—the time and circumstances of the accusation—the one writhing under the anguish of public detection and merited dishonor, whilst, in this awful crisis of national affairs, he seeks the distraction of the public councils, to promote a sinister ambition and indulge his vengeful passions—the other scarcely a citizen—the enemy of our government and a disturber of the public repose—who has sought to embroil us in the face of treaties, and in the face of the law, with a foreign power, for the promotion of those infamous designs, which he now charges upon me, and which with inflated zeal he now affects to reprobate—and who when stript of imposture will present a spectacle to the world from which the eye and the mind will revolt with detestation and abhorrence.

In your honor and independence, gentlemen, however they may be questioned by those who do not feel the force of those sacred bonds by which military men hold, I have an infallible guarantee for all I can desire, a patient, impartial, and I trust, rigorous scrutiny—in which I hope the nature of the accusation—the remoteness of the time—the hostility of the witness—the complexion of the first attack—and the shiftings, changes and prevarications which have ensued, may be strictly compared and combined.

Permit me to express the further desire—that this court may insist on knowing, from whence the documents submitted by my accuser and his accomplice, have been derived, as this fact may furnish a clue by which to trace the foul combination to its infamous source, and to identify, in this murderous assault of my honor, the ministry of that Mexican association, formed at New-Orleans, (and referred to by Blannerhasset) for the purpose of co-operating with Aaron Burr, and which it has been my crime to detect, expose and put down.

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On the 20th the president sent a message, in obedience to the request of the house, giving a full view of all the information in the possession of the executive proper to be revealed, relative to the subject of combinations in the western country for the dismemberment of the Union, &c. I shall give it a place next week.

ANECDOTE OF GENERAL LEE.—It is well known to those who are intimately acquainted with the history of the American revolutionary war, that at one period during that arduous conflict, much dissatisfaction prevailed with respect to the slow and cautious movements of Washington, insomuch that a strong party was formed in Congress who were determined to remove him from the command of the armies of the United States. At this critical period, Washington crossed the Delaware, abandoning the Jerseys for the moment to their fate; and ordered Lee to follow him: This order, however, the latter did not obey; having determined to achieve some brilliant stroke against the British,

which should at once elevate his own character in the public estimation, and render that of general Washington odious by demonstrating that it was owing to his too cautious proceedings that nothing was effected against the enemy. The stroke which he meditated was well planned, and he had intended to effect it just before his capture by lord Harcourt. His determination was to assail the British cantonment at Princeton; in which, considering the superiority of Lee's force, he could not have failed of success. Whilst his mind was full of this project, he wrote to general Gates as follows: "The *sweet manoeuvre* of Fort Washington has nearly destroyed the goodly fabric we have been laboring to rear: But I understand the people of Philadelphia, sooner than suffer their city to be held as a hostage for their liberties, will burn it. If they betray this resolution all will still be well; if they do not, the goddess of liberty will take her flight from this globe, never to return." This language depicts very forcibly the gloominess of the times in which it was written; and the allusion to the affair of Fort Washington pourtrays the bitter antipathy that Lee entertained against his superior. Such a moment of peril and dismay, was auspicious to his design for a *coup de main* against the British, and he had resolved to profit by it. But a tory, who dwelt in the neighborhood of the house where Lee for the time had taken up his quarters, rode off in the night for the station of the enemy to give information that the American general was there with a very slender guard: On his way to the British encampment, he fell in with lord Harcourt and a party of dragoons, and informed them of the circumstance. His lordship immediately took the necessary measures for surprising and making Lee prisoner; which he effected the following morning, by suddenly charging upon and dispersing the small force the general had with him.

Had he executed his project of attacking the British at Princeton, and been successful, the party in congress against Washington would have triumphed, and dismissed him to make way for Lee: And in that case who can say that independence would have been won?—for Lee was an eccentric character, though a good soldier, and did not possess the requisite confidence of the army. On what apparently insignificant contingencies does the fate of a nation frequently depend!

This anecdote has never before been published, I believe; and it is not unworthy the notice of the historian.

FRENCH INFLUENCE.—One might be almost induced to believe, from the curious surmises, and conjectures, and insinuations, which are ushered into the world by those who seem to know more than the rulers of the land, that Napoleon Bonaparte had by certain incantations at Paris contrived to extend the magical delusions of a dark and insidious policy to the United States of America. But the *illuminati* who have broached and supported this conceit, have left us a little in the twilight of doubt, the *crepusculum*, as it were, of information, on the subject; so that we can perceive neither the mode nor the means whereby the arch-magician of Europe has conjured the president, and the secretaries of departments, out of their wits, making them his tools, and forcing them, by an incomprehensible *influence* to run headlong into the

adoption of a measure the most agreeable to him but most disgraceful to this nation. Whether, indeed, a *carte blanche* has been furnished to the American executive to draw at will and to any amount on the bank of Paris; or a threat has been conveyed to our government that if the request of his imperial majesty was not complied with, a visit would be paid us by a column of the grand army under his excellency Bernadotte, or Davoust, or Lasnes, or Murat; or whether the sweet sympathies of personal friendship have operated too powerfully on our republican officers in favor of the conqueror of Europe, we are are left to conjecture. But these are things which ought to be explained, and which no doubt will be explained by the aforesaid *illuminati* at convenient time and season. The president has, we are told, locked up the secret from the prying eye of vulgar curiosity, and palmed a flimsy tale upon the majority of congress, which, poor gentlemen, they swallowed down without a single wry face. How the wise propagators of this *alarming intelligence* got wind of the thing, is singularly marvellous: But that they should know the contents of what the president has, according to their own account, never revealed, is a circumstance strange and surpassing all belief; and can be accounted for in no other way than by the supposition of a miraculous perception, or the art of *seeing what is not to be seen.*

It is a sin not to be forgiven, to be sure, in the executive officer of our government, that he should have omitted to hang up at the door of the Capitol, for the inspection of strangers, all the papers of a correspondence relative to foreign affairs at a critical period; and that he has not kept in his employ a trumpeter to proclaim to each man, woman and child, that passes by the door of the presidential mansion, every little anecdote that has transpired at Paris between General Armstrong and the French ministry. Woeful times indeed, are these, when the president will not say to every one, '*Enter all you that have an idle curiosity, or malice against the administration, into the department of state, and examine for yourselves every paper there deposited, and hasten to send it to your Posts, and Gazettes, and Repertories, and Ledgers, and Couriers, for publication and perversion: Proceed, I beseech you, to let Great-Britain know how we stand with France and Spain, and the latter how we are situated with respect to the former; for it is right and proper that your government should not keep its own counsels, and that we should be stripped of decorum and propriety and exhibited stark naked to all the world!*' How shocking is it to the feelings of cunning men with cunning views, that the president will not this speak, and act up to his speech! Ah! perdulous nation; destined to be sacrificed by prudent conduct in a great exigency!

I wait, with profound attention, for the grand developement of the particulars of Napoleon's influence. May the enlightened expositors of the secret throw open the doors of the cabinet, that we may all rush in with an Indian whoop, and scalp the whole administration!——

MILITARY SKETCHES.—In giving the outlines of gen. Wilkinson's military life; although somewhat foreign to my original design, I venture to trespass on my readers a more diversified picture of the incidents connected with his history, under the expectation that it will not be unac-

ceptable to the public. A few striking features of the military operations on the Hudson river in the campaign of 1777, may serve to correct past inaccuracies, and instruct the future writers of history.

None but those who have witnessed the effect of panic on military corps, can form an adequate idea of the terror and dismay with which it impresses the human heart. Reverse the scene, and the caprice and instability of our nature are indelibly marked. A little success, and individual exploits excite the spirit of adventure: Personal emulation and an honorable rivalry ensue; one battle gained leads to a second victory; confidence is succeeded by enthuisiasm, and then danger personified appears to fly before the audacity of the assailant. The current at first languid, soon accelerates its course, prostrating every obstacle before it; and at length the victorious army finds nothing difficult to its enterprize.

We have seen such things pending the revolution of France; and herein consists the great art of forming, training, and leading raw troops to war. Nor were the effects less striking in our own memorable campaign of 1777, when, in the brief period of four months, we beheld our undisciplined yeomanry exchanging the timidity of the hare for the courage of the lion.

In the retreat before lieut. general Burgoyne from Fort Edward, the Indians killed men within fifty paces of the flank of the left column; and at Moses's Creek, where a position was held for a few days with intention to oppose the enemy, a body of more than two hundred men retreated under the fire of twenty or thirty savages, who boldly advanced upon the right wing and fired on the grand parade with impunity. General M. Clarkson, of New-York, carries a memento of this incident under his chin. Discouraged, disheartened, and beaten by their own fear, neither admonition nor remonstrance, precept, example, nor punishment, availed any thing; and near Saratoga the American rear-guard of eighty men was actually chased by eight or ten Indians, notwithstanding the gallant exertions of the then major, now governor Hull, and the officers of his command.

But it is an inherent quality of the American soldier, that his panic is of short duration, and his enthusiasm extensive and permanent; and were it not verified by an event which made the British colonies a nation, it would scarcely be credited that the very men thus enervated by terror and conquered by apprehension, should suddenly recover their spirits, resume their manhood, turn upon their pursuers, and in the same campaign meet the veteran troops of Europe hand to hand, and in open space and close combat, drive them from the well disputed field of battle.

Young Wilkinson, an ardent, active agent in these scenes of trial; at the head of the general staff, and attached successively to the persons of St. Clair, Schuyler, and Gates, witnessed every spring of action and profited by the experience of his chiefs. With the unfortunate Kosciusko for the companion of his blanket, he suffered more than ordinary toils, and took his full share of hardships and peril. The daily details and department of intelligence were his peculiar province; and under the inspection of his generals, the orders of the day came from his pen. The vicissitudes of the campaign and the critical changes of fortune by which

it was chequered, pourtrayed to him in gloomy colors the instability of military fortunes, and taught him those useful lessons in practical war, without which no man can be a finished soldier.

For several weeks previous to general Gates's occupancy of Behmus' Heights, not a word of intelligence had been received of the enemy; and the same ignorance prevailed after the army took that position; scouts and light parties sought him in vain, and it became a question whether he was advancing or retreating. In this dilemma, Wilkinson offered himself for a reconnoitering party; the general embraced the proposition, and on the 13th of September, after nightfall, he left the camp with a select party of one hundred and fifty men. He advanced towards Saratoga, and about four in the morning found himself on a commanding height near Dovacote, a few miles from Schuyler's house: Here he halted and formed; and while he waited the approach of day, distinctly heard the *generale* beat in Burgoyne's camp instead of the *reveillee*: Understanding this signal for a general movement, he immediately detached lieut. Hardin* with a party of observation to his right, over the low grounds which lead up to Fishkill, and with an officer† and four men moved himself along the height which flanked the road, to the church of Saratoga, from whence he discovered a corps of about six hundred men drawn up on the opposite side of the Fishkill. It was now twilight, and at the moment the march was beaten Wilkinson, casting his eyes towards the Hudson, descried the head of general Burgoyne's column descending the heights of Catskill to a bridge of boats that had been thrown across the river.

These observations were conclusive as to the movements of the enemy; and Wilkinson, turning about to regain his party, one of his men discovered a couple of grenadiers below the hill on which he stood, who were seized and borne off, and the party rejoined the American camp early in the day. The report of Wilkinson and the information of the prisoners, removed all doubts of lieut. gen. Burgoyne's purpose to press his operations against the American army, and accelerated gen. Gates's preparations for his reception.

FOREIGN NEWS.—The latest intelligence from Europe is down to the 17th of November last; a London paper of that date having been received at New-York, by the ship Richard, from Tobago. It contains information extremely interesting to the Americans, who will now, if they did not before, perceive the sound policy of their administration.

The information consists in three orders of the British council, the most important of which is dated "At the Court of the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807," and after a long preamble, reciting as the grounds of the order—

1*st.* *The French decree of blockade of Nov.* 21, 1806.

2*nd.* *The effect which nations in alliance and under the control of France have given to that decree.*

3*rd.* *The inefficiency of the British order of the 7th of January*, 1807

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* *Since gen. Hardin, of Kentucky, who was murdered near Sandusky, when bearing a message with a flag of truce from gen. Washington to the belligerent Indians north-west of the Ohio.*

† *Capt. Goodale, of the Massachusetts line, since killed by the Indians.*

to counteract the French decree, or for inducing neutral nations to interpose with effect to obtain its revocation ;— "BUT ON THE CONTRARY, THE SAME HAS BEEN RECENTLY INFORCED WITH INCREASED RIGOR."*

The order proceeds to declare—

1st. *An interdiction of all trade to any ports from which the British flag is excluded, under the pains and penalties of actual blockade: And a prohibition of all commerce in articles which are the produce or manufacture of the enemies of Great-Britain, by subjecting the vessels engaged in it and the goods on board, to be condemned as prize to the captors.*

2nd. *With this exception only—that neutrals shall be allowed the opportunity of furnishing themselves with colonial produce for* THEIR OWN *consumption and supply: And* "EVEN *to leave open,* FOR THE PRESENT! *such trade with his majesty's enemies, as shall be carried on* DIRECTLY WITH THE PORTS OF HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS OR OF HIS ALLIES!!!"

The plain meaning of which is—the Americans are cut off from the trade of all the world (except G. Britain and her dependencies,) and are *allowanced* to the transportation of that precise quantity of articles which they can eat, drink, and wear, (always excepting British articles,) unless they will condescend to become a kind of GO-BETWEEN—to "FETCH *and* CARRY"—and drive a trade with "his majesty's enemies DIRECTLY with the ports of his majesty's dominions or those of his allies."

THE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.—By the following notice the reader will perceive that, agreeably to a good old custom, which has prevented intrigue and distraction among republicans, a convention of members of congress is to be held this evening, in the Capitol, for the purpose of deciding upon proper characters to be supported at the ensuing presidential election. Gen. Bradley presided at the last convention which recommended, for the second time, our present excellent chief magistrate to the patronage of the people:

"SIR—In pursuance of the power "vested in me as president of the late "convention of the republican members of both houses of Congress, "I deem it expedient; for the purpose of nominating suitable and "proper characters for President and "Vice-President of the U. S. for the "next presidential election; to call "a convention of the said republican members, to meet at the senate chamber on Saturday the 23d "inst. at 6 o'clock P. M. at which "time and place your personal attendance is requested, to aid the "meeting with your influence, information and talents.

"*Dated at Washington, this* 19*th* "*day of January, A. D.* 1808.

"S. R. BRADLEY."

Mr. ROSE, the British minister, arrived in this city on the 14th, and was presented to the president on the 16th inst.

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* *I presume this phrase, the very words of the British order, will explain the true cause of the recommendation of an embargo by the President immediatly on the arrival of dispatches from France. As the executive of the U. States foresaw, the* "increased rigor" *of the French decree has occasioned a British order that sweeps every thing before it: And France, in turn, will certainly resort to other restrictions, more severe, perhaps, than ever. The embargo saves our ships, our seamen, and our merchandize, from the clutches of both parties*

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